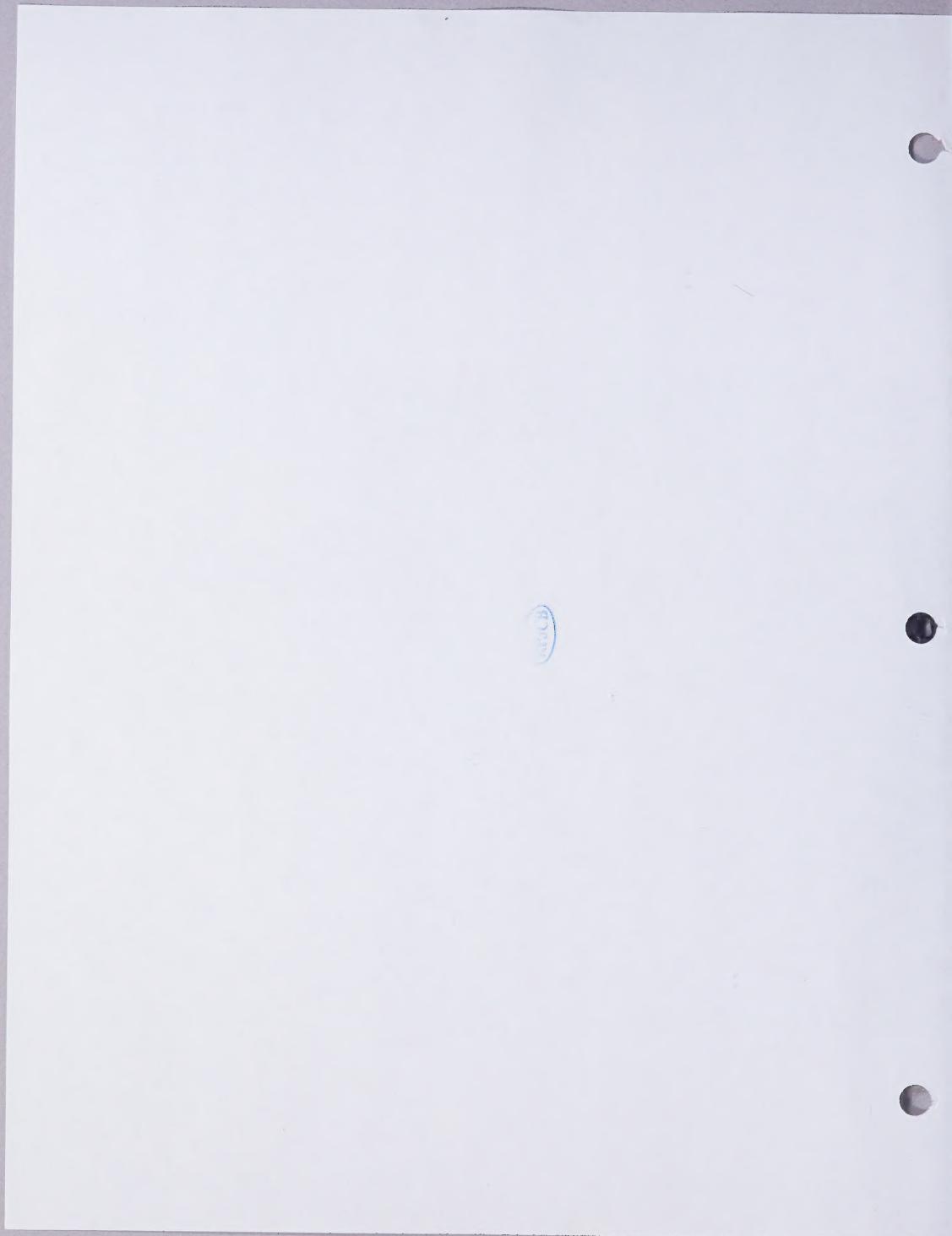


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Villancico Culture in New Spain

as Seen in a Unique *Sammelband* in the John Carter Brown Library



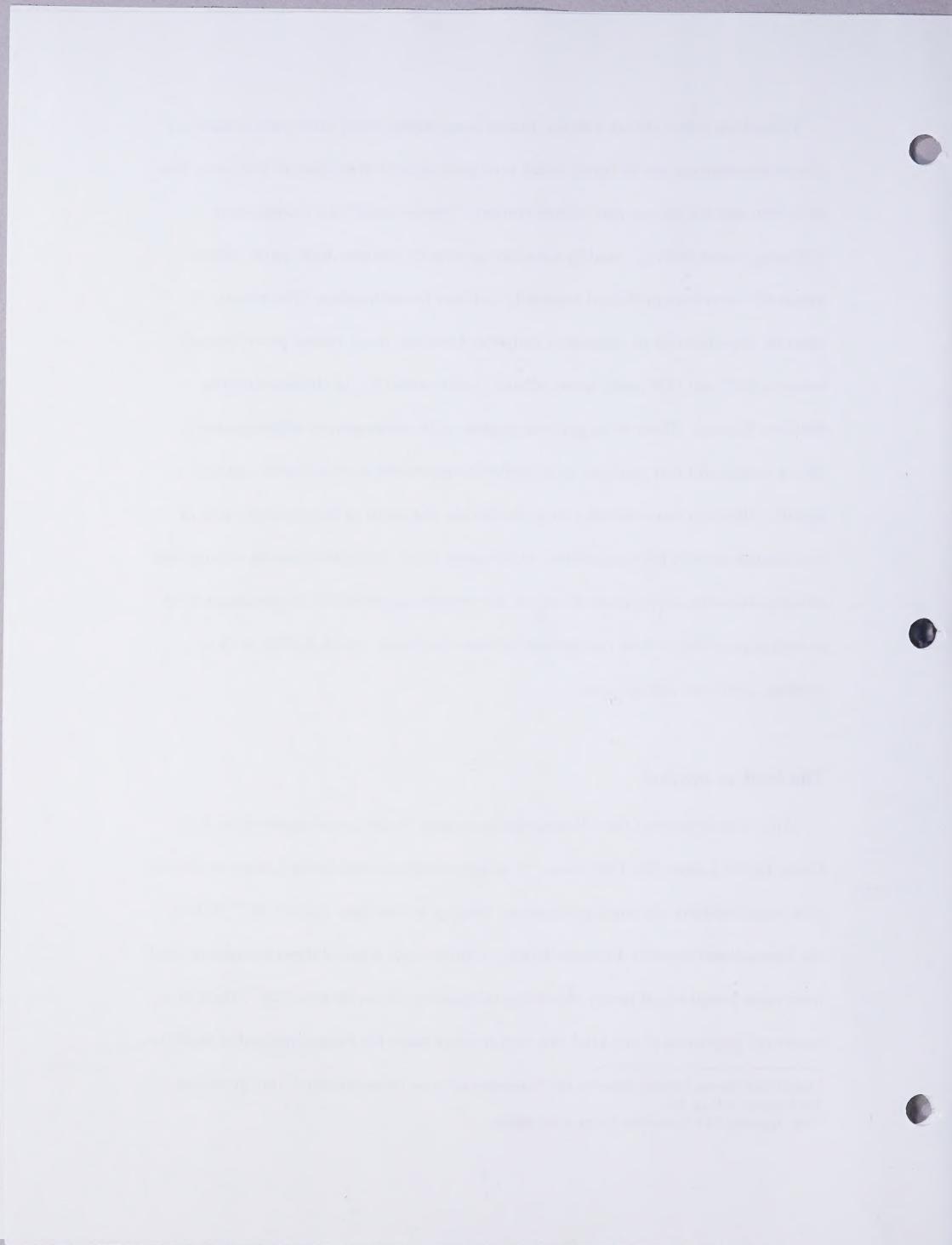
In the John Carter Brown Library, tucked away among many other such treasures, a unique *Sammelband* can be found which is of great interest to scholars of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and her literary and cultural context. “*Sammelband*” is a German term indicating “same binding” used by librarians to refer to volumes made up of printed materials which were published separately and later bound together. The volume in question is a collection of villancicos and other Mexican music-related poetry printed between 1657 and 1730, with seven villancico sets written by (or attributed to) the Mexican Phoenix. Their being grouped together with contemporary villanciqueros in such a meaningful way provides an exceptional opportunity to examine the tastes of a specific villancico consumer as well as the themes and forms of this important part of seventeenth-century popular culture. In this essay I will briefly describe the volume and villancico custom, and propose directions for research suggested by this intriguing book as well as providing a short comparison between Sor Juana’s work and the work of another significant villanciquero.

The book as artifact.

After a description of the villancico form, an entry in the annual report of the John Carter Brown Library for 1941 reads, “A single volume secured by the Library in the past year contained forty-two such publications, ranging in date from 1657-1730.”¹ In fact, the *Sammelband* contains 43 items: 40 sets of villancicos, many of them anonymous, and three other pamphlets of poetry describing religious events in Mexico City.² There is no numbered pagination of any kind, but each separate piece has been numbered in pencil on

¹ John Carter Brown Library. *Report to the Corporation of Brown University, July 1, 1941*. Providence: The Library, 1941, p. 23.

² See Appendix I for a complete listing of the pieces.



its last page, probably by the cataloging librarians. Sometime before the book's acquisition by the library, a bookworm ate through most of the pages in the bottom center, without significant loss of text. There is some water marking on the first few pieces, again without loss of text.

The *Sammelband* is known by 43 different call numbers, as each piece has been cataloged separately. In thick black lettering on the spine are the words "Villancicos Cantados." The binding of the book is a high-quality natural vellum of quarto size, or about 21 centimeters, which is perfectly adjusted to most of the pamphlets contained within: only two have been noticeably trimmed to fit the binding. The binding was probably prepared soon after the last piece was collected (1730), by the original owner, as a means of organizing a collection he seems to have valued and looked after carefully.

An inscription in contemporary hand on the first page, which is otherwise blank, reads: "Contiene este libro quarenta y seis piezas con villancicos y otros papeles curiosos. Esta pagada en casa de Don A[*] de [*] de donde lo saqué. Sartorio [sig.]."

It appears to have been written by the second owner, having purchased the book from the first owner and desiring to keep a record of the transaction as well as describe the contents of the book. The handwriting for the first owner's name is nearly illegible; however, a likely possibility is "Agustín de Verdiguier." Up to this point, it has been possible only to conjecture about who this gentleman may have been and why he or someone in his household collected villancicos in this manner, but further research could be beneficial. For the purposes of this paper, it will be useful to note that although the pieces are not arranged in chronological order, upon closer inspection, there is a logical organization. The first 24 pieces (numbered 1-7, 7A, 8-23) celebrate festivals of the

Virgin Mary or events involving the transportation of her image, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, to Mexico City, while the last nineteen are dedicated to St. Peter the Apostle.

The majority of the pieces, 38 of 43, come from Mexico City, which leads me to believe that "Agustín de Verdiguier" resided there, while perhaps traveling to Oaxaca and Puebla for certain religious services of interest, or perhaps receiving visitors from those cities who brought the pamphlets with them as souvenirs. The scattered nature of the printing dates as opposed to the unity of the themes, and the high proportion of villanciqueros known to be of quality (see p. 11 below), suggests that the collector was selective, consciously weeding out inferior pieces he may have acquired, based on literary merit, future historical significance, and subject matter.

Piece number 6 is unusual for the collection in many respects, perhaps all owing to the fact that it was printed in Madrid, apparently for use in a Spanish cloister.³ Again, the collector may have traveled to Spain or received the pamphlet from a visitor or correspondent. It is one of only four pieces printed after the year 1700, which seems to be the time at which the collector's interest waned, for whatever reason.

The 1691 St. Catherine villancicos (item 7) are the only set about St. Catherine, and the only one to have been performed in Oaxaca, which is additional support for the idea that the pieces were collected consciously, perhaps with their literary or historical significance in mind. Sor Juana is the most represented writer in the volume: her nearest second has only three pieces to her seven. The idea that "Agustín de Verdiguier" could

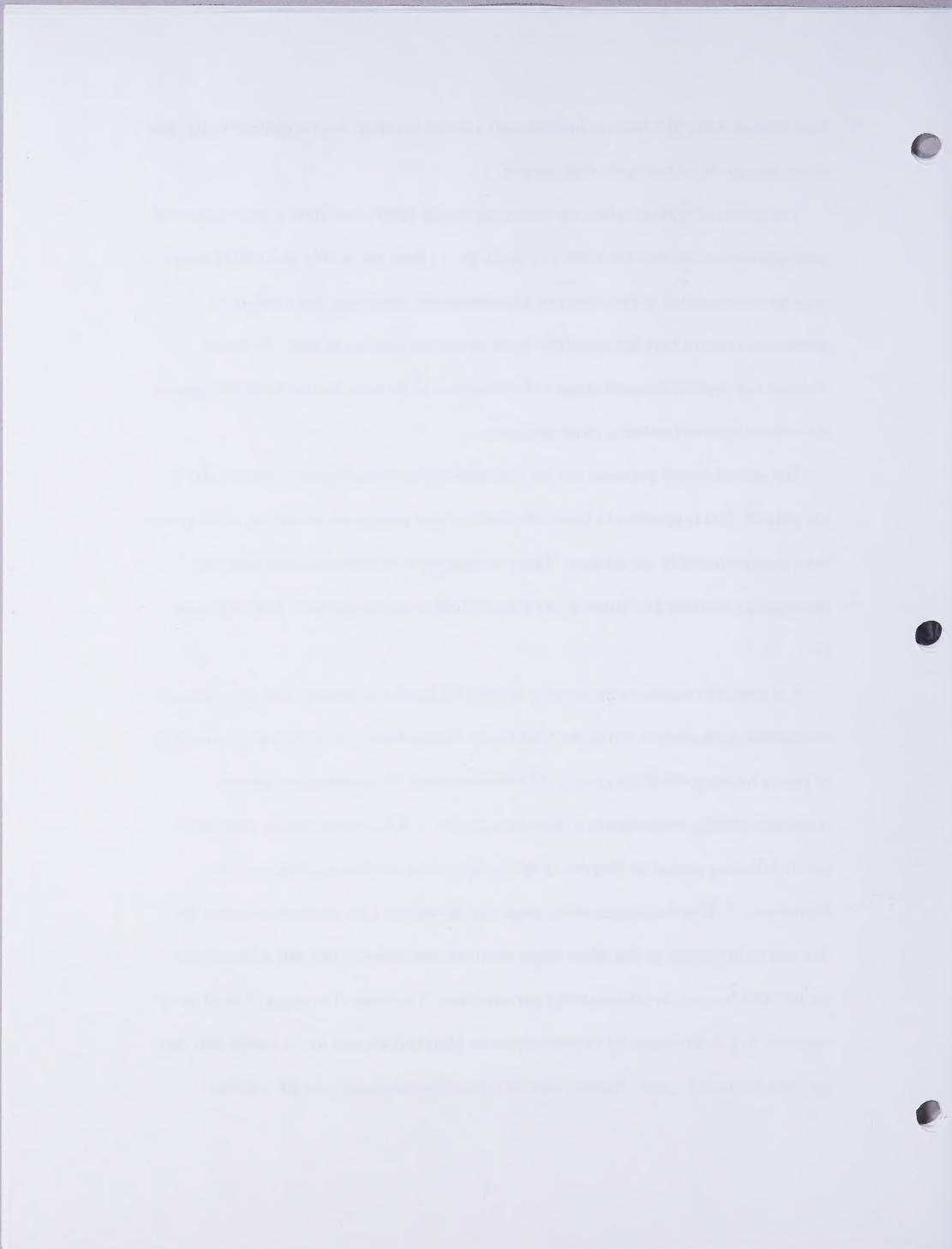
³ The title page indicates that these are villancicos which are to be sung, instead of the standard wording in Mexico, "villancicos cantados" (past tense). They do not appear to have been destined for church use, but in an evening service for the "santos reyes" (a different celebration than all the other texts) by the nuns and a listening public in the Real Capilla de la Señoras de la Encarnación.

have been an early Sor Juana enthusiast with a desire to collect her pamphlets for the sake of her star quality is not in the least bizarre.

The period of highest collecting activity spans the 1680's and 1690's, with additional good representation from the 1670's. The six pieces from the 1650's and 1660's might even have been added to the collection retrospectively, indicating that a possible additional collector kept the pamphlets for a significant amount of time. St. Pedro Nolasco was another frequent subject of villancicos of the time, but the collector appears not to have been interested in those services.

The second owner indicates that the *Sammelband* contains 46 pieces while today it has only 43. It is impossible to know whether this was a miscount or whether three pieces have been extracted in the interim. While the binding is of professional quality, the incomplete condition of villancico sets 6 and 7A opens up the possibility of additional loss.

It is possible to confirm the identity of item 7A despite its missing title page through comparison with another text in the John Carter Brown Library, a sixteen-page pamphlet of poetry by Diego de Ribera (see p. 12 below) entitled "Amoroso canto que con reverentes afectos, continuando su devocion escribe ... A la novena venida, que hizo à esta nobilissima ciudad de Mexico, la milagrosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios ..." This description of the pageantry in Mexico City on the occasion of the delivery of the image so that Mary might intercede and relieve a drought is fascinating for the light it sheds on contemporary personalities. It contains five pages of dedicatory material, five short poems by various important players dedicated to the author, and two different licenses to print. Ribera poetically describes the parade and the sermons



delivered, not omitting the names of the dignitaries who spoke on that day. The copy in the *Sammelband* appears to be made from the same typescript as the complete copy; however, the pagination is different. It seems likely that the now missing prefatory matter was shorter than that which survives.

Because of their role as a historical record of why the events took place and who attended, the three description pieces (7A, 8, and 11) probably had a high souvenir factor. The events likely had emotional or religious significance and were probably attended by “Agustín de Verdiguier” in person.

The music.

The acquisitions librarian continues in the 1941 report: “The chief regret one feels about the printed villancicos is that, though preserving the names of many choirmasters and composers, they fail to record the musical notation in which the poems were set, or to indicate whether or not in the Mexican usage they were sung in connection with liturgical dramas.”⁴ In fact, no music at all survives for Sor Juana’s villancicos, although many pieces by the composers associated with her have come down to us. Of the four composers known to have set her words to music, Antonio de Salazar, “uno de los grandes polifonistas del barroco mexicano,”⁵ was the most prolific and deemed most talented, “probably her only worthy collaborator.”⁶ Salazar was chapel master, first in Puebla and then in Mexico City (ca. 1689-1715), assuming the traditional role as composer in both cathedrals. All of the music sung in the cathedral during his tenure

⁴ John Carter Brown Library, p. 23-24.

⁵ Miranda, Ricardo. “Sor Juana y la música: una lectura más.” *Memoria del coloquio internacional. Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz y el pensamiento novohispano*, 1995. Toluca: Instituto Mexiquense de Cultura, 1995, p. 253-269, p. 255.

⁶ Stevenson, Robert. *Music in Mexico: a Historical Survey*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1952, p. 142.



would have been written by Salazar himself, and he is the most cited composer in the *Sammelband*, with thirteen sets to his credit. Records for 1691 indicate that the Mexico City cathedral had fifteen different instruments available to accompany the choir, and that all fifteen were used conjointly,⁷ an impressive aural experience to match the awe-inspiring architecture of the newly completed interior.

Salazar was known for his innovative approach,⁸ although fundamentally a student of the school of Renaissance great, Palestrina.⁹ Perhaps one of the reasons we have so much of his work today is that he undertook a complete reorganization of the cathedral archives at a time when older music was being systematically discarded. The system he created saved his work while sacrificing much of the work of his predecessors.¹⁰ Ricardo Miranda proposes that though none of the music for Sor Juana's poems has come to light, further searching may reveal them.¹¹ Taking Salazar's other work as an example, the music for the Sor Juana villancicos would have adhered to Renaissance principles of harmony and clarity while displaying a very developed expression of the subject matter.

In her poetry, Sor Juana displays a profound knowledge of musical theory, gleaned from the textbooks in her library and befitting an educated individual of the times. It is believed that she directed the choir in her convent, and the title page of item 7 in the *Sammelband*, the St. Catherine villancicos, claims that "her" choir sang them, although the event took place in Oaxaca. Sor Juana consistently uses musical metaphors to bring together the arts and the sciences into one cosmic continuum, but her ingenious

⁷ Op. cit., p. 148.

⁸ Orta Velázquez, Guillermo. *Breve historia de la música en México*. México: Porrúa, 1970, p. 208.

⁹ Saldívar, Gabriel. *Historia de la música en México*. México: Documentos del Estado, 1987. Edición facsimilar de la de 1934, p. 109.

¹⁰ Orta Velázquez, loc. cit.

¹¹ Miranda, p. 253.



explorations are highly theoretical: “Para Sor Juana la función de la música no depende de sus posibilidades sonoras tanto como de sus posibilidades metafísicas.”¹²

Villancico creation and context.

The lack of musical notation places the poetry at center stage in the present texts, which, I believe it is safe to say, are comparable to the librettos distributed to the audience at an opera today, or, an even closer comparison, to the programs distributed at a performance of Handel’s *Messiah*, in which the lyrics are printed without music, for the audience to refer to during the performance (but not to sing along!) and then take away and dispose of as they wish. There is no question that villancicos were an important part of popular culture in New Spain: their liturgical value is the only element that makes one stop short of comparing them to the liner notes of a modern pop CD.

The works of Martha Lilia Tenorio¹³ present well-documented and thorough introductions to the evolution of the villancico form in New Spain. Though it is unnecessary to go into detail here, I will sketch the essential history in the hope that the reader will refer to more authoritative sources if interested.

The villancico began its religious life as a responsory in Castilian rather than Latin, designed to attract a larger congregation to matins.¹⁴ By the second half of the seventeenth century, it had evolved from its humble, antique origins as the folk music of villagers into a sophisticated form which could substitute for hymns in certain services: Sor Juana and some of her followers even composed some villancicos to adorn the more

¹² Lavista, Mario. “Sor Juana *musicus*.” *Memoria del coloquio*, p. 195-201, p. 201.

¹³ Tenorio, Martha Lilia. “El villancico novohispano.” *Sor Juana y su mundo: una mirada actual*. ed. Sara Poot Herrera. México: Universidad del Claustro de Sor Juana, 1995, p. 447-501. and *Los villancicos de Sor Juana*. México: El Colegio de México, 1999.

¹⁴ Tello, Aurelio. “Sor Juana, la música y sus músicos.” En *Memoria del coloquio*, p. 465-482, p. 466.



buoyant parts of the Mass. A typical villancico set consisted of eight or nine separate songs distributed across three nocturnes. Nearly any form which included an *estribillo* and *coplas* could be considered a villancico, and many times the forms were further specified, as seen in some of the pieces in the *Sammelband*, with its *jácaras* and *ensaladas*. A far cry from the simple Christmas carols we associate with the name “villancico” today, these poems were written by specialists and set to music by the choirmasters of the important cathedrals. They partake of the Baroque aesthetic of virtuosity and amazement which led to experimentation with forms and language, reaching their greatest development in the theatricality of some of the works of Sor Juana.

The conditions under which these villancicos were produced are summarized concisely by Martha Lilia Tenorio:

Con todo, estamos ante una producción en serie, no siempre afortunada. No podemos ignorar la condición de esta lírica: composiciones por encargo, de vida efímera, generalmente limitadas a la celebración de una festividad concreta y predeterminada (que, además, al año siguiente se sustituían por otros textos); elaborados por los poetas ‘de cajón’, quienes seguramente debían conocer muy bien las fórmulas verbales y poéticas; sabían cuáles resultaban más eficaces y entre qué límites (poéticos, musicales y dogmáticos) podían moverse.¹⁵

That these were sponsored works meant that the poets were not necessarily emotionally invested; however, they took care to use their craft to the best of their abilities within the stated parameters so that they would be asked to write more. The ephemeral nature of the pamphlets is called into question by the two printings of the “Amoroso canto” described on page 4 above, and by the very fact that so many have survived the years to end up in libraries. The *Sammelband* is perhaps the epitome, but it

¹⁵ Tenorio, *Los villancicos*, p. 45.



appears that these supposedly disposable texts had meaning for a public which treasured them, perhaps in some cases as a record of the latest poetic innovations.

The villanciqueros and their public.

In an age in which a constant program of impressive events was deemed necessary to keep the public amused, poetic one-upmanship created not only virtuoso poets but also a well-trained, demanding public: “Si el villanciquero y el maestro de capilla se lucían con formas novedosas, llamativas o complicadas, era porque sabían que estaban ante un público capaz – y ávido – de apreciar su pericia.”¹⁶ The popularity of the villancicos cannot be overstated. Although paper shortages made the printing of scholarly material extremely difficult, the high demand for villancico pamphlets made it possible for almost any poet to be published in this manner.¹⁷

This popularity and the immense possibilities for experimentation make the villancicos an obvious choice for Sor Juana. She wrote villancicos from 1676 to 1692, a period spanning almost her entire literary production years. She was the most prolific and creative of the villanciqueros. Her work was circulated widely and had a large school of imitators. Her villancicos to St. Catherine are the most widely appreciated: Electa Arenal ranks them with the *Sueño*, *Neptuno alegórico* and *Divino Narciso* among “her most imaginative and accomplished act[s] of literary daring.”¹⁸ The villancicos make up one

¹⁶ Op. cit., p. 44.

¹⁷ Stevenson, p. 139.

¹⁸ Arenal, Electa. “Where Woman is Creator of the Wor(l)d. Or, Sor Juana’s Discourses on Method.” *Feminist Perspectives on Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*. ed. by Stephanie Merrim. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991, p. 124-141, p. 127.



quarter of her surviving works,¹⁹ and yet, like most critics, Sor Juana largely disregards this aspect of her creation.

The “Carta de Sor Filotea de la Cruz”²⁰ accuses Sor Juana of never having written any significant spiritual works, and her “Respuesta” does nothing to correct that apparent misconception, perhaps because the villancicos were indeed insignificant. Their aspect as commissioned pieces meant to show off her talents may have overshadowed any religious insights they may have developed. Her “Carta” to Antonio Núñez is her first prose defense of her studious way of life and provides an opportunity to reply to Núñez’s accusation that she writes only secular poetry, which she handles in an almost oblique way:

...dos villancicos a la Sma. Virgen que después de repetidas instancias y pausa de ocho años, hice con venia y licencia de V. R. la cual tuve entonces por más necesaria que la del Sr. Arzobispo Virrey mi Prelado y en ellos procedí con tal modestia, que no consentí en los primeros poner mi nombre, y en los segundos se puso sin consentimiento ni noticia mía...²¹

Rather than emphasizing that, because of their religiousness, these are exactly the kinds of poems a nun should write, she uses their composition as another example of having been pressed to write in order to serve others, and of having sought permission and approval at all times. For whatever reason, Sor Juana participates in what appears to have been a widespread custom of not putting her name on all of her villancicos, but nevertheless, with her following, at the time the community at large must have known which ones were hers.

¹⁹ Tenorio, “El villancico novohispano,” p. 450.

²⁰ Included in the Méndez Plancarte edition: Juana Inés de la Cruz, Sor. *Obras completas*, VI. Ed. by Alfonso Méndez Plancarte. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952, p. 694-697.

²¹ Paz, Octavio. *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz o las trampas de la fe*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982. Reimpresión colombiana, 1997, p. 639-640.



Sor Juana's case applies to the others: it was probably widely known who wrote which villancicos. With more research, the authors of all or most of the anonymous villancico sets included the *Sammelband* can probably be identified. For the present, it is useful to note that four of the fifteen named villanciqueros represented here are also represented elsewhere. Lorenzo Antonio González de la Sancha, with three sets here, was probably fairly prolific. He also published at least one other poetic pamphlet, from 1709, entitled "Resurrecion penegyrica discurrida en las exequias del illmo. señor ...". Gabriel de Santillana, Felipe Santoyo and Diego de Ribera are cited by Tenorio as consistent producers of quality villancicos, though not of the same quality as Sor Juana's.²²

In addition to the two pieces in the *Sammelband* and the complete copy of the "Amoroso canto," the Brown University Libraries also hold the following poetic works by Diego de Ribera: "Acordes rendimientos, afectos numerosos, ... A la duodezima vez, que la milagrosa imagen de N. Señora de los Remedios, vino à la Ciudad de Mexico, à 30. de mayo, de 1678. à que por su intercesion consiguiese el remedio à las dolencias, q[ue] por falta de lluvias padecia," "Reverentes afectos, ... à la reyna de los angeles Maria de los Remedios, quando dezima vez vino esta señora, à dar reconocidos alivios, à la muy noble, y leal ciudad de Mexico, en el co[n]tagio, que la destruía," and "Descripcion poetica de las funerales pompas, que a las cenizas de la magestad de d. Phillipo Quatro ..." This last is a 46-page pamphlet on the occasion of the funeral services for Felipe IV of Spain while the first two are standard twelve-page booklets concerning images of the Virgin. These works alone would lead to Tenorio's commentary: "Acercarse a ellos es ver de cerca cómo una sociedad se celebraba a sí misma. ...todo acontecimiento

²² Tenorio, *Los villancicos*, p. 46, 58.



extraordinario, civil o eclesiástico, se solemnizaba con arcos triunfales, verbenas populares, representaciones teatrales y certámenes poéticos.”²³

The pieces of most interest to us here are those by Sor Juana and her contemporary and acquaintance, Diego de Ribera. In chronological order, the Sor Juana villancico sets are the following: Conception, 1676; St. Peter, 1677; Assumption, 1677; Assumption, 1685; Assumption, 1686; St. Catherine, 1691; St. Peter, 1692. Only two of these pamphlets show the poetess's name: St. Peter, 1677 and St. Catherine, 1691. Both pieces stand out graphically by omitting the standard woodcut title vignette of the saint they honor and include lengthy introductions and dedications showing typical hyperbole in describing Sor Juana's abilities. Item 32, St. Peter 1677, includes a dedication by Sor Juana herself which is typically overmodest and self-effacing.²⁴ It is significant, for the reasons stated above, that none of her other villancicos are signed.

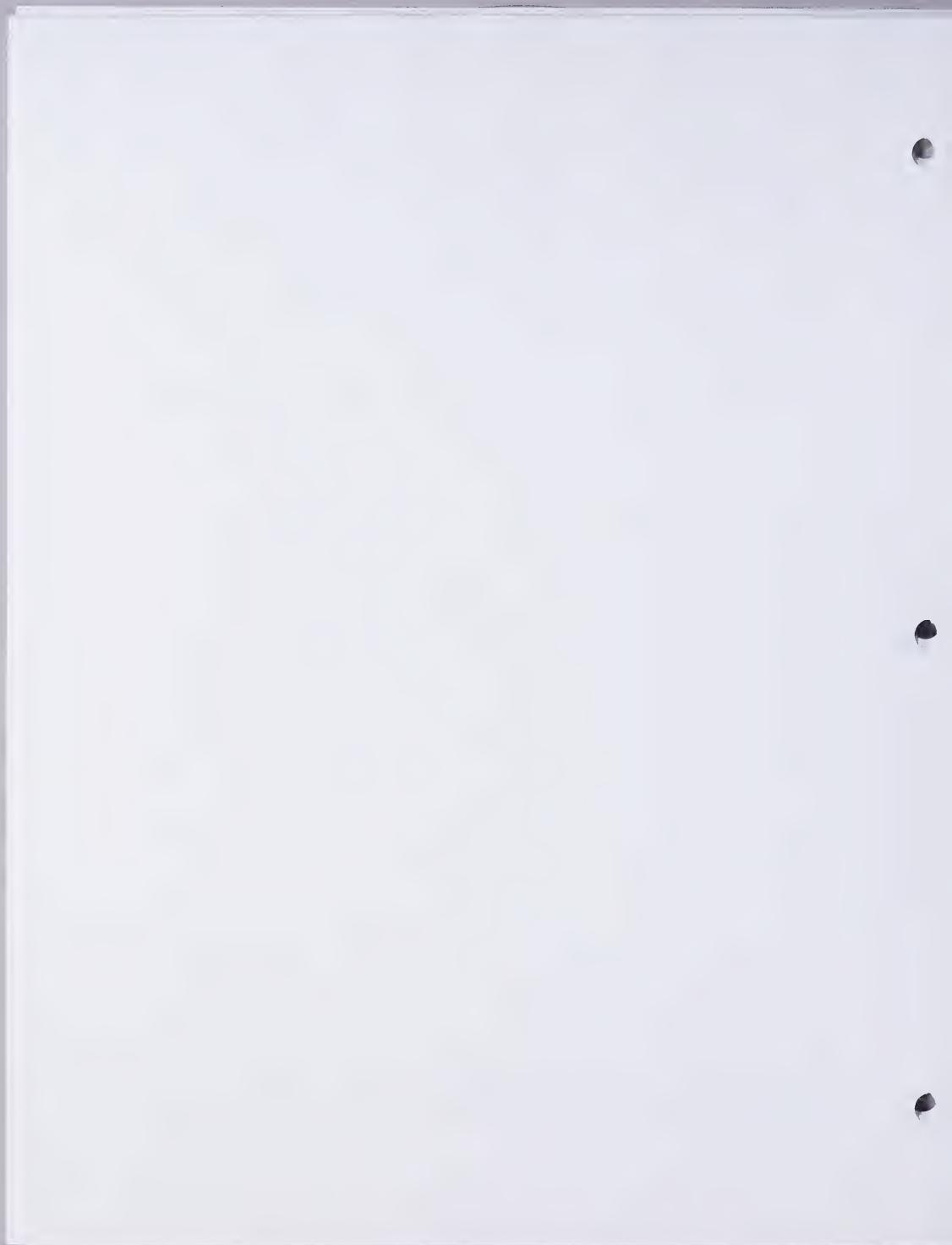
In the following section, I will compare the overall structure and some of the themes of set 32, Sor Juana's 1677 St. Peter villancicos, with set 31, the villancicos dedicated to St. Peter by Diego de Ribera, 1673.²⁵ As I have already indicated, Ribera is Sor Juana's contemporary and acquaintance and produced several pieces of religious poetry surviving in pamphlets. A short article by Salvador Cruz²⁶ further proposes that the two authors are part of an entire generation, the “generation of 1668,” because in that year, Ribera, a prolific writer and avid chronicler, put together a 40-page pamphlet including the works of those whom he considered to be the best poets of the day. These included himself, Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora and one Juana Inés de Asuaje who had not yet taken the

²³ Op. cit., p. 44.

²⁴ Juana Inés de la Cruz, Sor. *Obras completas*, II, p. 43-44.

²⁵ See Appendix II for a complete transcription of this set of villancicos.

²⁶ Cruz, Salvador. “Sor Juana y su generación.” *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz y sus contemporáneos*. Margo Glantz, ed. México: UNAM, 1998, p. 117-122.



veil at the convent of San Jerónimo. This is the same Diego de Ribera who is the subject of Sor Juana's sonnets 202 and 203, which prove that she was familiar with his work and seemed to respect it highly. These circumstances will make for a meaningful, albeit brief, comparison.

St. Peter villancicos.

The two sets have nearly the same architecture: the first two nocturnes consist of three typical *estribillo-and-copla* villancicos each, and the third nocturne in both pieces consists of two sings and takes advantage of more specific forms.

Ribera makes apparent his thorough knowledge of the story of St. Peter and assumes his audience will understand references which, while straightforward, make use of some of the poetic practices of the day. Oxymoronic images, wordplay and *conceptismo* make these villancicos a clear part of the Baroque culture. Because they are meant to be sung and therefore must be comprehended instantaneously, they cannot be terribly complex, but they are still intended as brain-teasers designed to impress the audience. The repetitious last lines of each *copla* in the third villancico of the first nocturne show an understanding of the way they might have been set to music – the dancelike rhythm is almost tangible. An insistent theme throughout the set is Peter's weeping as a sign of his repentance, which, while clearly a sacred theme, also recalls the copious tears in contemporary love poetry. The puns involving Peter's name and his function as the founding rock of the Church, so apparent in Spanish, are also played out to what would seem their fullest extent. The depiction of Peter's salvation as a struggle or battle seems



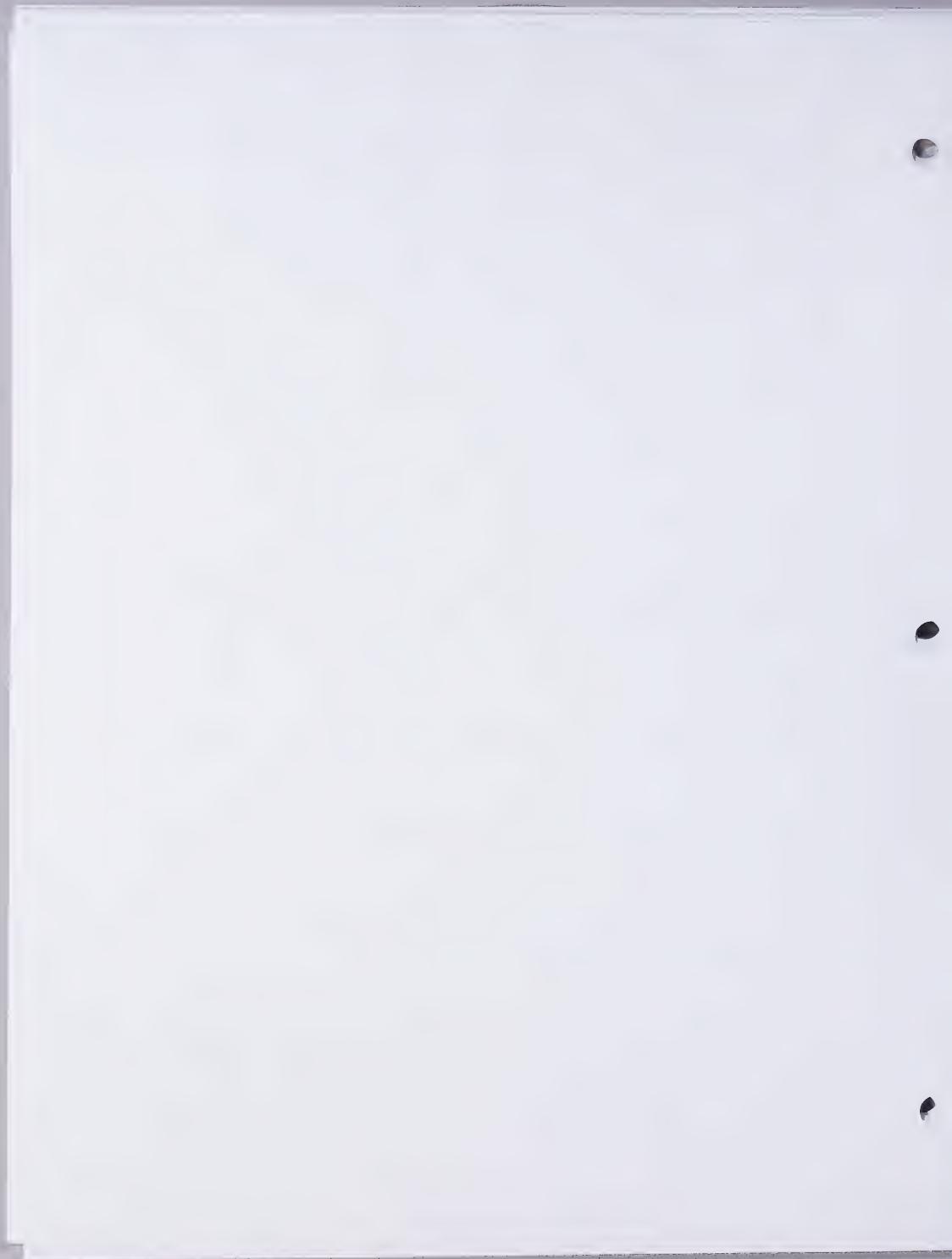
to be an accepted conceit. It is employed to good effect in the second villancico of the second nocturne, “Prendan, prendan à Pedro,” the most theatrical piece in this set.

The final villancico is a *jácaro* in *esdrújulo* meter, a form Ribera pioneered and which awoke great interest in his fellow villanciqueros as well as influencing, among other poetry, Sor Juana’s *romance* 61.²⁷ In a *jácaro*, the refrain is the first stanza and is repeated many times rather than the single time an *estribillo* is normally repeated in a villancico, acquiring an insistent quality absent in most other forms. This *jácaro* continues the theme of Peter’s tears as a necessary step toward his redemption, but its main theme seems to be self-referencing. The refrain is mentioned by name, inserts a line of (false) modesty, and lauds appropriate risk-taking (in the composition of poetry). The final stanza also equates the *esdrújulos* with the “Rethorica viva de Pedro”—surely high praise for a poet to give himself. Ribera must have been proud of his signature form and wanted to ensure that the public understood that this was to be considered a novelty.

Sor Juana’s villancicos share Ribera’s tendency toward biblical references, the theme of tears, and puzzles for the audience to solve, but, in true Tenth Muse fashion, she takes all of the techniques to a higher level, with frequent learned puns and references to an all-inclusive, information-hungry attitude. Following Ribera’s example, she places a *jácaro* in her final nocturne. Hers does not overemphasize the form, but invests in ingenious fencing metaphors to add excitement to the piece.

Perhaps coincidentally, both poets put mathematicians in the third villancico of the first nocturne. During this time period, one of the officials of the cathedral was known as the “*contador*” or “*maestro de matemáticas*,” whose duty was to administer indulgences

²⁷ Tenorio, *Los villancicos*, p. 46.



and do the accounting for the tithes and churchmen's salaries.²⁸ Ribera's version includes a clever pun, referring to Pedro's redemptive tears as "el tesoro de los ojos" in the third *copla*. Both poets use the sciences as a complement to their poetry, a help for better understanding, or even measuring or proving, the mysteries of the faith.

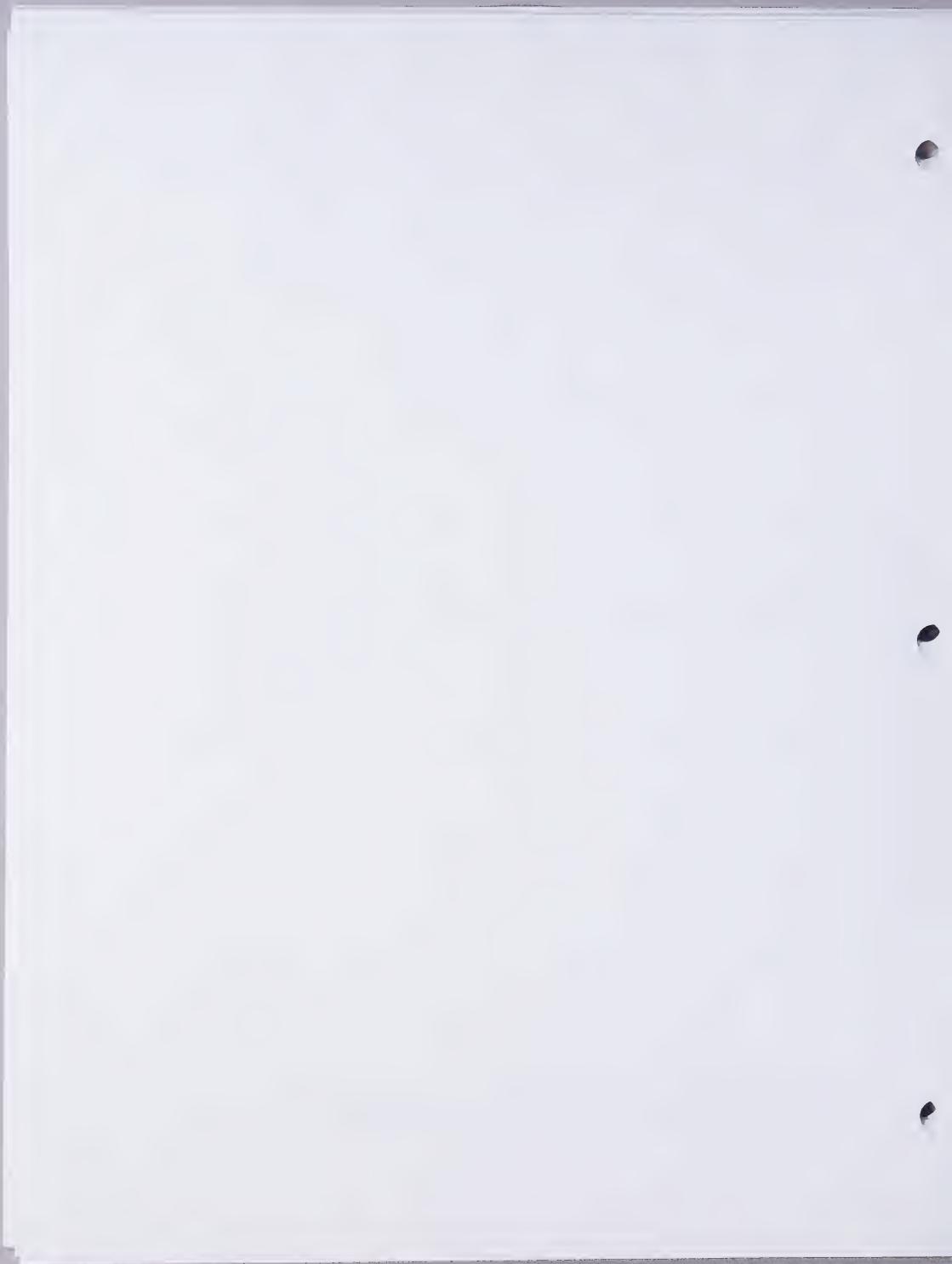
Although Sor Juana does not make use of the responsory structure Ribera includes in all of his *estribillos*, her final villancico, an *ensalada*, is a dramatic work complete with comic characters who enter and exit the song as if on stage. This *ensalada* also has recourse to a technique Ribera shows no evidence of: linguistic mixing and playfulness. In the first villancico of the second nocturne, Sor Juana displays her erudition by writing in fluent, perfect Latin,²⁹ but the Latin in the *ensalada* is in the mouth of an arrogant sacristan who mixes it with Spanish to great buffoonish effect. The other character is quite different: a Portuguese sailor who speaks entirely in a Portuguese riddled with errors. Valquiria Wey proposes that Sor Juana had plenty of exposure to Portuguese at the Viceregal court, read books in Portuguese for lack of many books in Castilian, and may have been exposed to the mixed Portuguese and Spanish of Gil Vicente, a popular poet. Moreover, she most likely corresponded with Portuguese speakers. Many of the "mistakes" in the Portuguese in this piece were probably intended as a pronunciation guide for the Spanish-speaking singers in the choir.³⁰ All of the linguistic mixing singles out the characters as abnormal and laughable.

Sor Juana is clearly following in the footsteps of a member of the villanciquero community whom she admired while using the established discourse to experiment,

²⁸ Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Obras completas*, II, p. 380.

²⁹ Although showing metrical evidence of Castilian pronunciation. Op. cit, p. 381.

³⁰ Wey, Valquiria. "Sor Juana y el portugués: el villancico VIII de San Pedro de 1677." *Los empeños: Ensayos en homenaje a Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*. México: UNAM, 1995, p. 227-236.



sometimes playfully, with the possibilities of expression, musicality, and, indirectly, with the social status of women – there are no other known women villanciqueras. A more comprehensive analysis of her villancicos as compared to her male contemporaries is necessary for a fuller understanding of the social impact of this atypical nun.

Conclusions.

The villancicos, as a part of Sor Juana's oeuvre, are today as ignored as they were in her time, but their value first as a cultural studies tool and then as a fully integrated aspect of her genius can and should be developed. The collection upon which I have based my study appears to be a selection of some of the best poets working at the same time as Sor Juana, and a more comprehensive organization of this information and the comparative studies which could result would be not only fascinating but also illuminating. The proliferation of relationships between villanciqueros, musicians, and the public which could be examined is astounding. The conjectures I have made throughout the study could be confirmed or denied, whatever their worth. A stimulating avenue of research would be to find out more about the collector himself, as the quintessential villancico consumer. In this respect, the *Sammelband* provides an unequalled opportunity to get to know Sor Juana's audience as well as her peers, providing a more global portrait of colonial New Spain, a society with much more to share with us.

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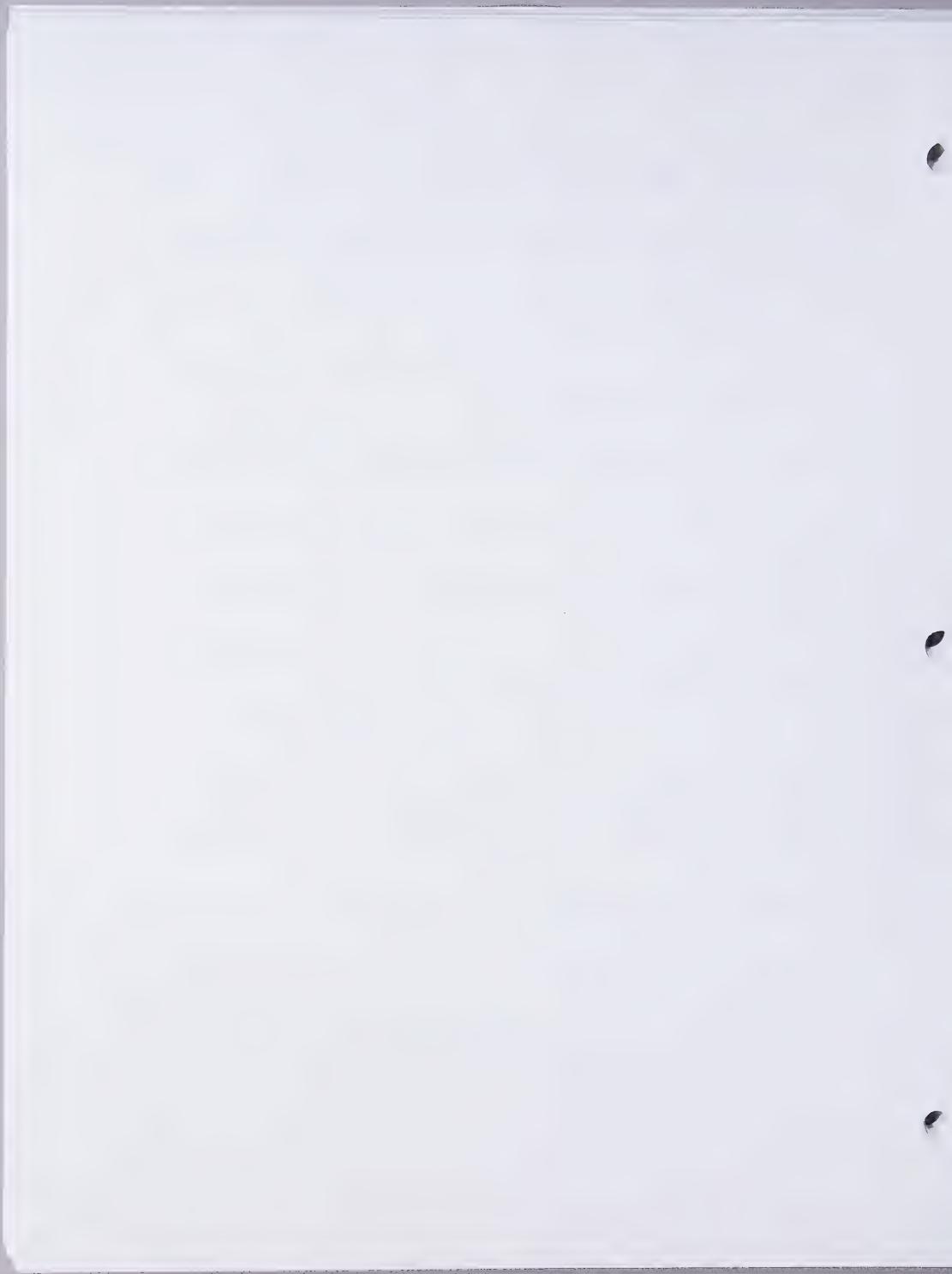
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--. "Acordes rendimientos, afectos numerosos, que continuando su devocion escribe el bachiller D. Diego de Ribera, presbytero. A la duodezima vez, que la milagrosa imagen de N. Señora de los Remedios, vino à la Ciudad de Mexico, à 30. de mayo, de 1678. à que por su intercesion consiguiese el remedio à las dolencias, q[ue] por falta de lluvias padecia." Mexico. : Viuda de Bernardo Calderon, 1678.

--. "Descripcion poetica de las funerales pompas, que a las cenizas de la magestad de d. Phillipo Quattro ..." Mexico: Francisco Rodriguez Lupercio, 1666.

--. "Reverentes afectos, que con acentos metricos consagra en hazimiento de gracias el Br. don Diego de Ribera presbytero, à la reyna de los angeles Maria de los Remedios, quando dezima vez vino esta señora, à dar reconocidos alivios, à la muy noble, y leal ciudad de Mexico, en el co[n]tagio, que la destruía; y su devocion los ofrece por mano de su illustre cofradia, à quien rendido los dedica, y humilde los consagra." Mexico: Francisco Rodriguez Lupercio, 1667.



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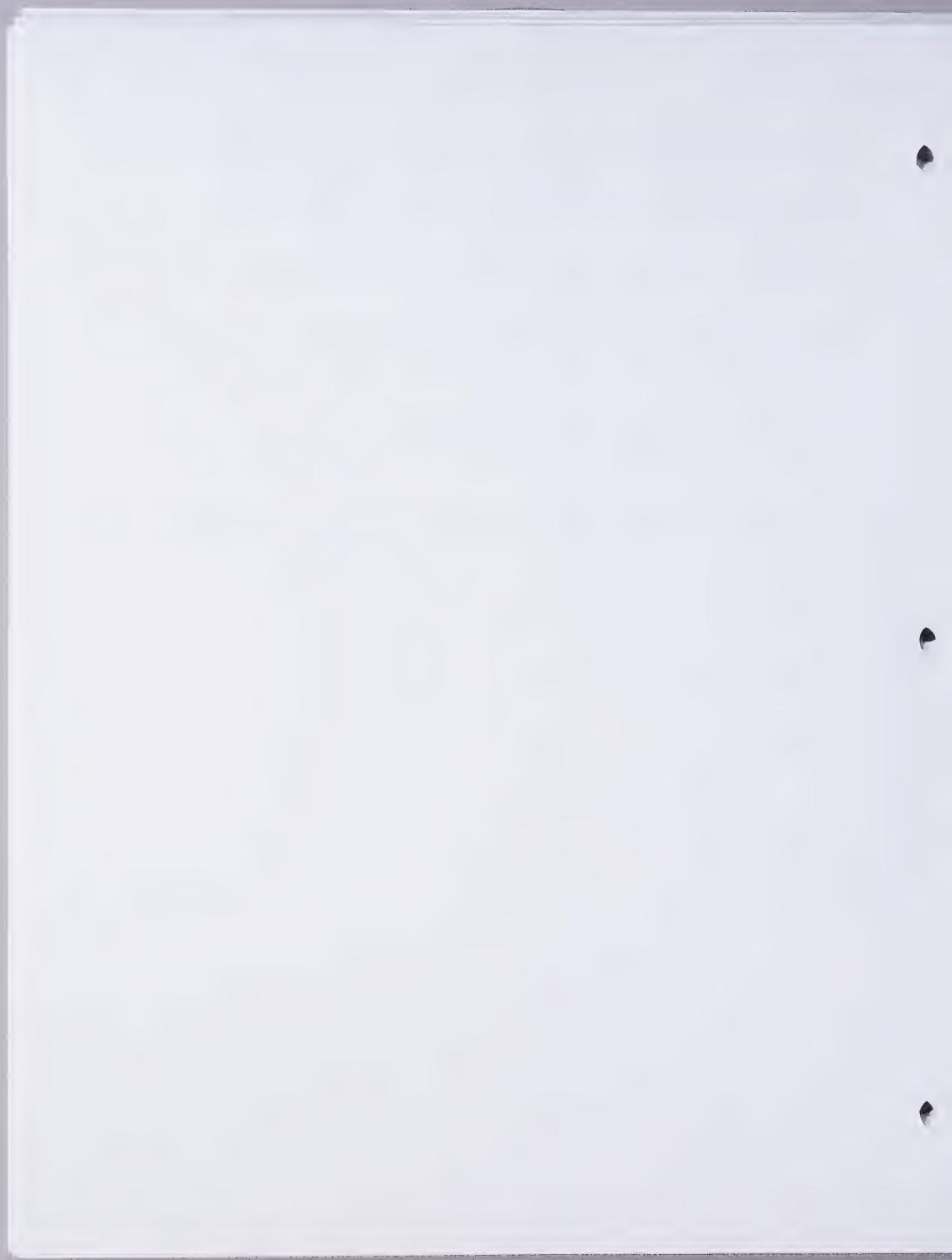
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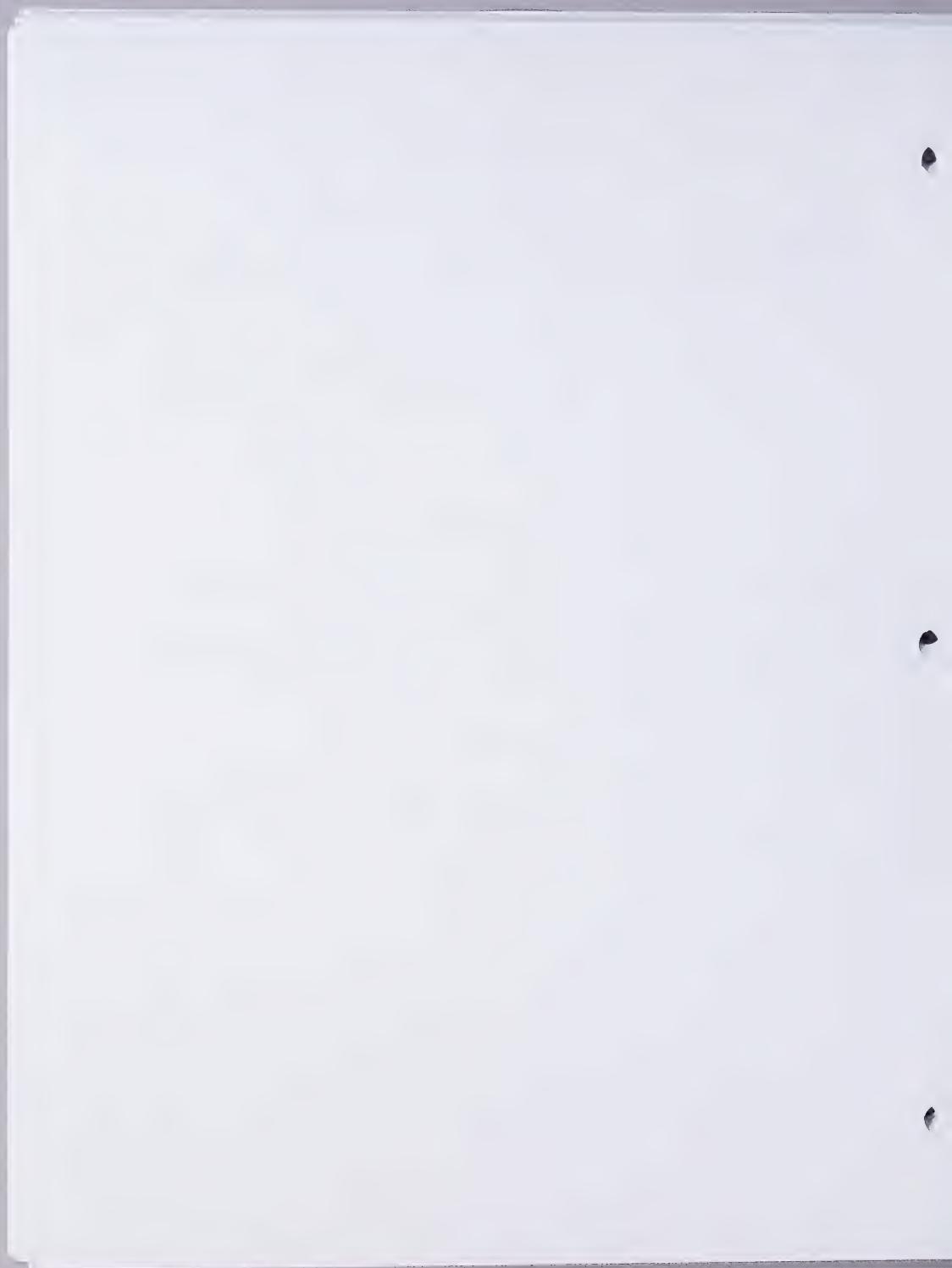


Appendix I

Catalog of items in the *Sammelband*.

For the sake of comparison, I list here the author, location, festival or occasion, and date (insofar as these are known) of all the pieces found in the *Sammelband*, listed in the order in which they appear, by the numbers assigned to the back of each piece in pencil. I have also noted the composer and other unusual information where available.

1. Lorenzo Antonio González de la Sancha. Mexico. Nativity of Mary. n. d. (music by Salazar)
2. Lorenzo Antonio González de la Sancha. Mexico. Nativity of Mary. 1698. (music by Salazar)
3. n. a. Mexico. Christmas. 1657.
4. n. a. Puebla. Christmas. 1673.
5. n. a. Mexico. Christmas. 1658.
6. n. a. Madrid. Santos reyes. 1710. (Only one leaf remaining.)
7. **Sor Juana.** Oaxaca. St. Catherine. 1691. (music by Matheo Vallados)
- 7A. **Diego de Ribera.** Mexico. "Amoroso canto... a la novena venida... Nuestra Señora de los Remedios..." 1663. (Only last three leaves remaining.)
8. Pedro Muñoz de Castro. Mexico. "Descripcion de la solemne venida de la imagen milagrosa de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios à esta nobilissima ciudad de Mexico..." 1685.
9. n. a. Puebla. Conception. 1670.
10. Felipe Santoyo. Mexico. Conception. 1695. (music by Salazar)
11. Joseph Miguel de Reyna. Mexico. "Relación expressiva y propia de la celebre funcion executada ... que dedicò nuevamente a la Santissima Virgen de la Pura y limpia Concepcion..." 1730. (music by Joseph de San Cayetano, of Madrid)
12. n. a. Mexico. Nativity of Mary. 1696. (music by Salazar)
13. n. a. Mexico. Assumption. 1672.
14. Fabian Juárez. Mexico. Assumption. 1673.
15. **Sor Juana.** Mexico. Conception. 1676. (music by Agurto y Loaysa)
16. **Sor Juana (attr.).** Mexico. Assumption. 1677. (music by Agurto y Loaysa)
17. n. a. Mexico. Assumption. 1682. (music by Agurto y Loaysa)
18. **Sor Juana.** Mexico. Assumption. 1685. (music by Agurto y Loaysa)
19. **Sor Juana (attr.).** Mexico. Assumption. 1686. (music by Agurto y Loaysa)
20. n. a. Mexico. Assumption. 1693. (music by Salazar)



21. Toriano Alcázar. Mexico. Assumption. 1684. (music by Agurto y Loaysa)
22. n. a. Mexico. Assumption. 1695. (music by Salazar)
23. Andrés de los Reyes Villaverde. Mexico. Assumption. 1696. (music by Salazar)
24. Joseph Luis Velasco y Arellano. Mexico. St. Peter. 1714. (music by Salazar)
25. Lorenzo Antonio González de la Sancha. Mexico. St. Peter. 1715. (music by Sumaya)
26. n. a. Mexico. St. Peter. 1657. ("Chanzonetas...")
27. n. a. Mexico. St. Peter. 1659. ("Chanzonetas...")
28. n. a. Mexico. St. Peter. 1660. ("Chanzonetas...")
29. Sylvestre Florido. Mexico. St. Peter. 1682. (music by Agurto y Loaysa)
30. n. a. Mexico. St. Peter. 1672. ("Chanzonetas...")
31. **Diego de Ribera.** Mexico. St. Peter. 1673.
32. **Sor Juana.** Mexico. St. Peter. 1677.
33. n. a. Mexico. St. Peter. 1681. (music by Agurto y Loaysa)
34. Christobal Fernández Pardové. Puebla. St. Peter. 1683. (music by Salazar)
35. n. a. Mexico. St. Peter. 1685.
36. Juan Alejo Tellesgirón. Mexico. St. Peter. 1686.
37. n. a. Mexico. St. Peter. 1687. (severely trimmed)
38. Gabriel de Santilla. Mexico. St. Peter. 1688. (music by Agurto y Loaysa)
39. Francisco de Azevedo. Mexico. St. Peter. 1689. (music by Salazar)
40. **Sor Juana (attr.).** Mexico. St. Peter. 1692. (music by Salazar)
41. n. a. Mexico. St. Peter. 1693. (music by Salazar)
42. n. a. Mexico. St. Peter. 1695. (music by Salazar)



Appendix II

Transcription of St. Peter Villancicos by Diego de Ribera.

I have formattted this villancico set to simulate the original layout, but not to copy it exactly. There are numerous inconsistencies in the presentation of new sections which I have only simulated. I have maintained original spelling and noted original pagination. The words on the first page are laid out to frame the woodcut vignette of St. Peter.

[p. 1] VILLANCICOS,
que se cantaron en la Santa Iglesia Cathedral de Mexico,
a los maytines del glorioso principe de la Iglesia el señor San Pedro. Que dotò, y fundò el doctor, y
maestro D. Simon Esteban Beltran de Alzate, y Esquibel, (que Dios aya) maestrescuela, que fue
desta Santa Iglesia Cathedral, y cathe dratico jubilado de Sagrada Escriptura, en esta Real
Universidad de Mexico. Escrivelos el bachiller D. Diego de Ribera presbytero
En Mexico. Por la viuda de Bernardo Calderon. Año 1673.

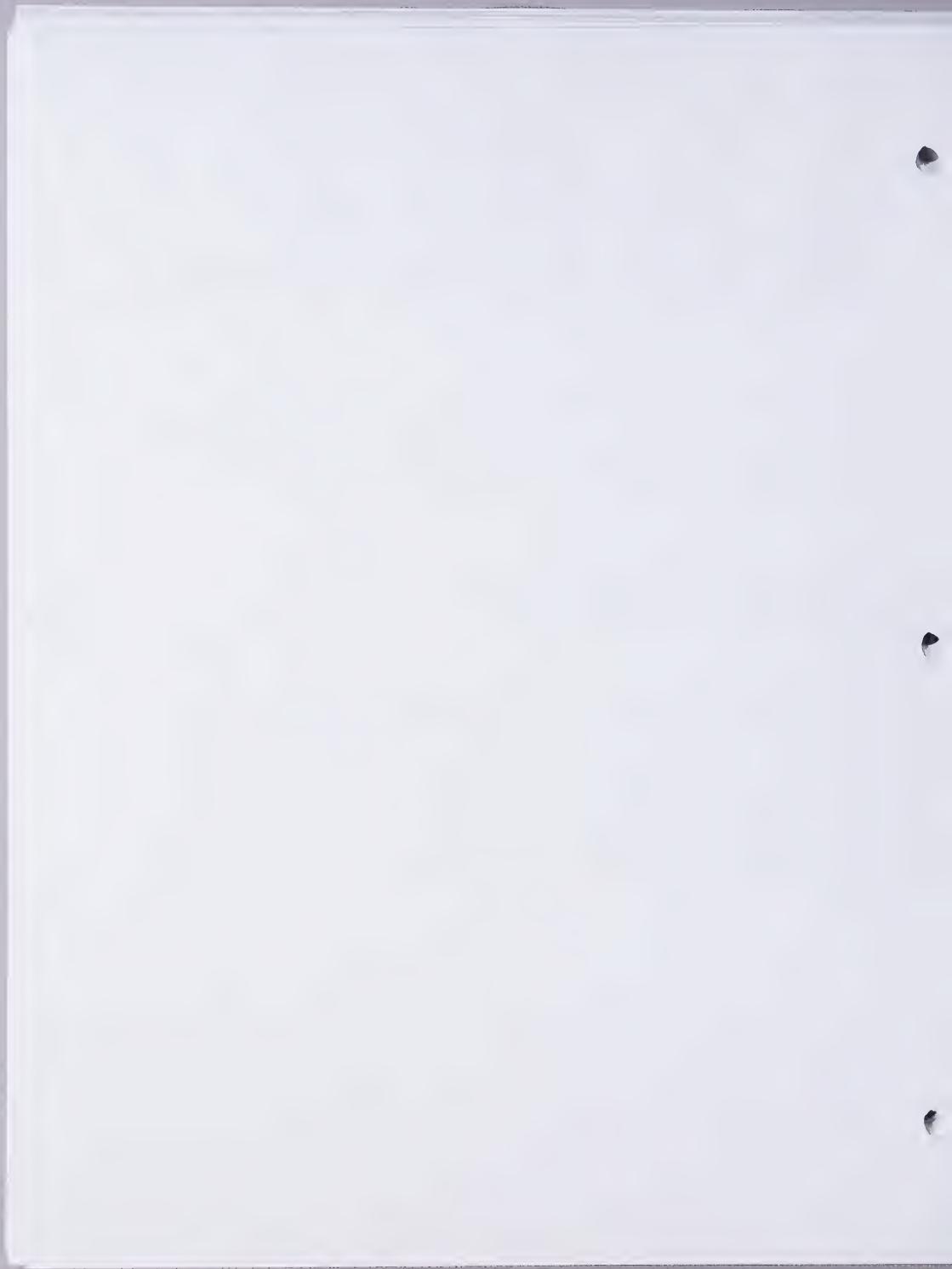
[p. 2] A
DON GARCIA DE VALDES OSSORIO, Conde de
Peñalva, Visconde de San Pedro Martyr de Vega del
Rey, del Orden de Santiago, Señor, y Mayorazgo
de la casa de Valdes.

ORDINARIO puede ser en los ingenios escrivir las obras para buscar el patrocinio; pero en esta se hallò tan à medida de su gusto el amparo, que aun no se llegò à escrivir, quando ya se podia dedicar. (que esso es correr sin violencia en las dedicatorias) Hazañas, y glorias del Principe de la Iglesia S. Pedro mi Padre animaban mi pluma, y publicas celebridades de su culto en V.S.
fomentaban mi impulso. Yo formaba las voces, para los Cisnes del Coro; y V.S. encendia las luces, que desde su sepulcro anima el fervor ardiente, que viviendo mostrò, la devocion del Doctor, y M.D. Simon Esteban Beltran de Alzate, y Esquibel, dignissimo Maestrescuela, que fue, desta Metropolitana Iglesia, à cuyas expensas se perpetuan las grandes desta fiesta; con que se prueba ser de justicia en mi el dedicarla, como en V.S. el admitirla, recibiendo en èl la voluntad, que rendido le ofrece su menor servidor, y mas aficionado capellan de V.S.

Q. S. M. B.

B.r D. Diego de Ribera.

[p. 3]
Primero Nocturno
Primero VILLANCICO.
Estrivillo
1. PAstores del Valle,
que os llama el amor.



2. Dexadlos Rebaños,
vereis llorar oy
à la piedra Pedro
el yerro que obrò.
1. Jesus, que desgracia,
Jesus, que dolor.
2. Que se turbò Pedro,
que tuvo temor!

Todos. Pues pague llorando
en dulce licor,
y coja el remedio,
donde el mal sembrò.

Coplas.

Pedro llorad en buen hora,
que es muy conforme al valor,
dar à vna negacion clara,
clara la satisfacion.
Si no es, que por alentado
os haze contradiccion,
que las lagrimas han sido
siempre estrañas del valor.
Mudar de estilo fue el daño,
porque à Christo hijo de Dios,
le llegastis à lo vivo,
con sola una concession.
1. Pastores del Valle,
que os llama el amor, & c.

Segundo VILLANCICO.

Estrivillo.

1. LA culpa, y el amor de Pedro,
salen oy a la campaña:
la culpa brotando incendios,
y lloviendo el amor agua.

Todos. Guerra, guerra, guerra,
animo à la batalla.

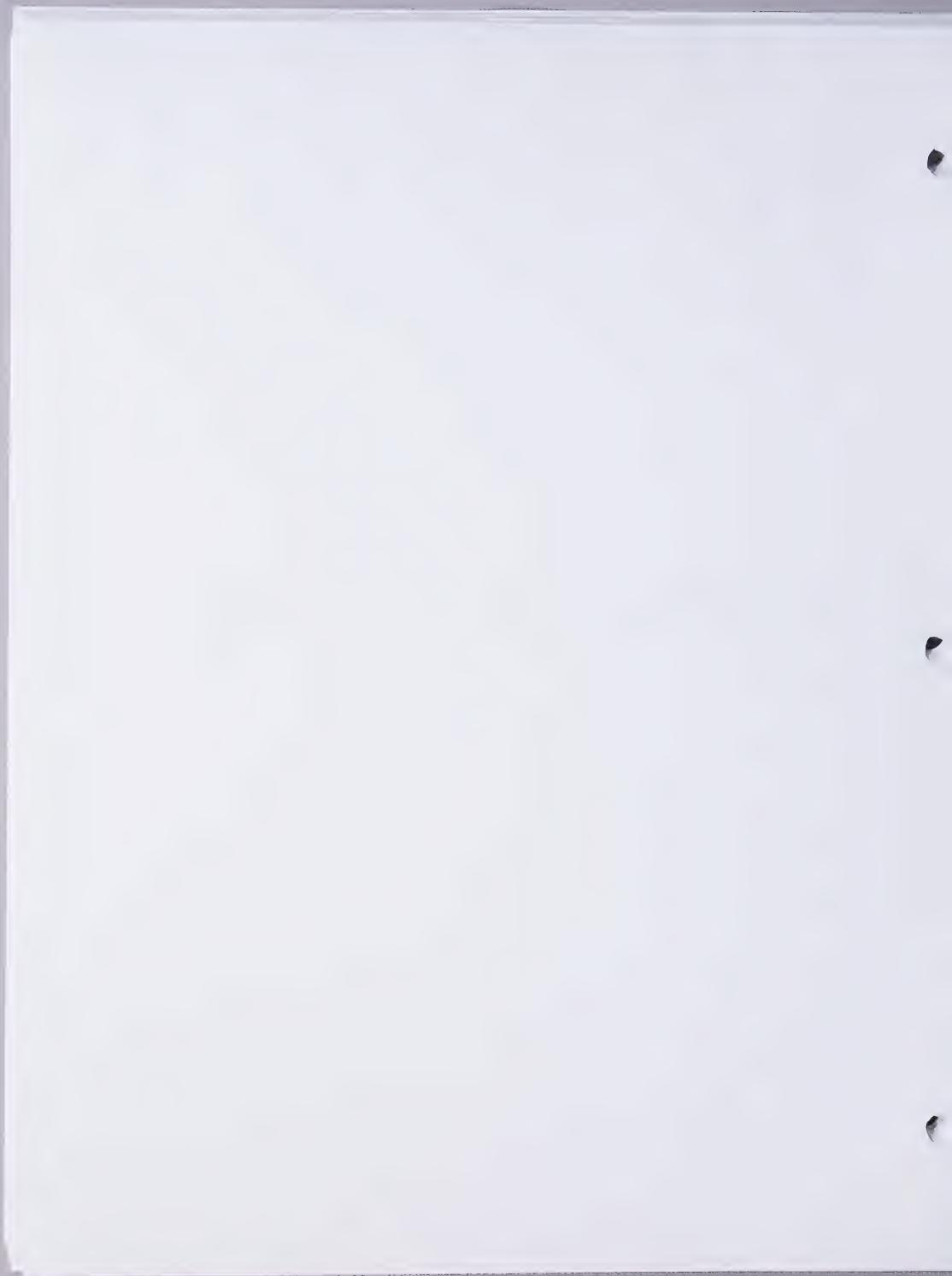
2. Muy terrible es la culpa.
1. Mayor la confiança.

Todos. Ya llegan al estrecho.
Al arma, al arma, al arma.

2. La culpa va corrida.
1. Victoria el amor canta.
2. Que lo encendio el fuego,
1. Las lagrimas lo apagan.

Coplas

Al golfo se arroja Pedro,



y en cristalinas montañas,
al principio del arrojo,
halla constantes las aguas.
Al fin reconoce el riesgo,
y quando con el batalha,
para salir del empeño,
Christo en sus braços le salva.
Es hombre, y teme el peligro,
que en las ondas le amenaza;
quien no admira ver el miedo
tan cerca de la arrogancia.
Con ser piedra pierde el pie,
fluctuando entre la escarcha,
[p. 4] que escarcha de tanto peso
hasta las piedras ablanda.
1. La culpa, y amor de Pedro,
salen oy à la campaña, & c.

Tercero VILLANCICO

Estrivillo

1. A Escuchar los Esdrujulos
vengan los Mathematicos,
verán si con mil brujulas
pueden hallarle obstaculos.
2. Que el estilo es novissimo,
y el Apostol oraculo.

Coplas

Si sola la voz de vn Ave
turba à el Apostol valiente,
y con el sivo le espanta,
desele, desele, desele.
Llore contemplando el canto,
que aunque de fino se precie
la atencion en el peligro,
fueselete, fueselete, fueselete.
Si contra su Maestro,
y satisfacerlo quiere,
el thesoro de los ojos,
questele, questele, questele.
No pueden las amenazas
lo que las verdades pueden,
y assi del yerro passado,
pesele, pesele, pesele.
1. A escuchar los Esdrujulos,
vengan los Mathematicos,



verán si con mil brujulas
pueden hallarle obstaculos, &c, [sic]

Segundo Noct.

Primero VILLANCICO.

Estrivillo.

1. FAvor, socorro cielos,
que Pedro se retira,
de hallar llena la gracia
en sola vna bacia.
2. Labarle Christo intenta,
y à los pies se le humilla,
que quiere arrodillado,
mostrarle sus caricias.
1. Albricias, albricias,
que ya Pedro conoce
el logro de las dichas.
2. Y si los pies negava,
con todo el cuerpo brinda.

Coplas.

Pedro vuestro estraño modo
en la replica se advierte,
que no todos tienen suerte
de sacar el pie del lodo.

Negabais los pies, y toco,
que manos llegais à dar,
bueno es llegarse à labar,
mas ni tanto, ni tan poco.

Notable la dicha es,
de labaros Dios ancioso,
pero como sois dichoso
aveis nacido de pies.

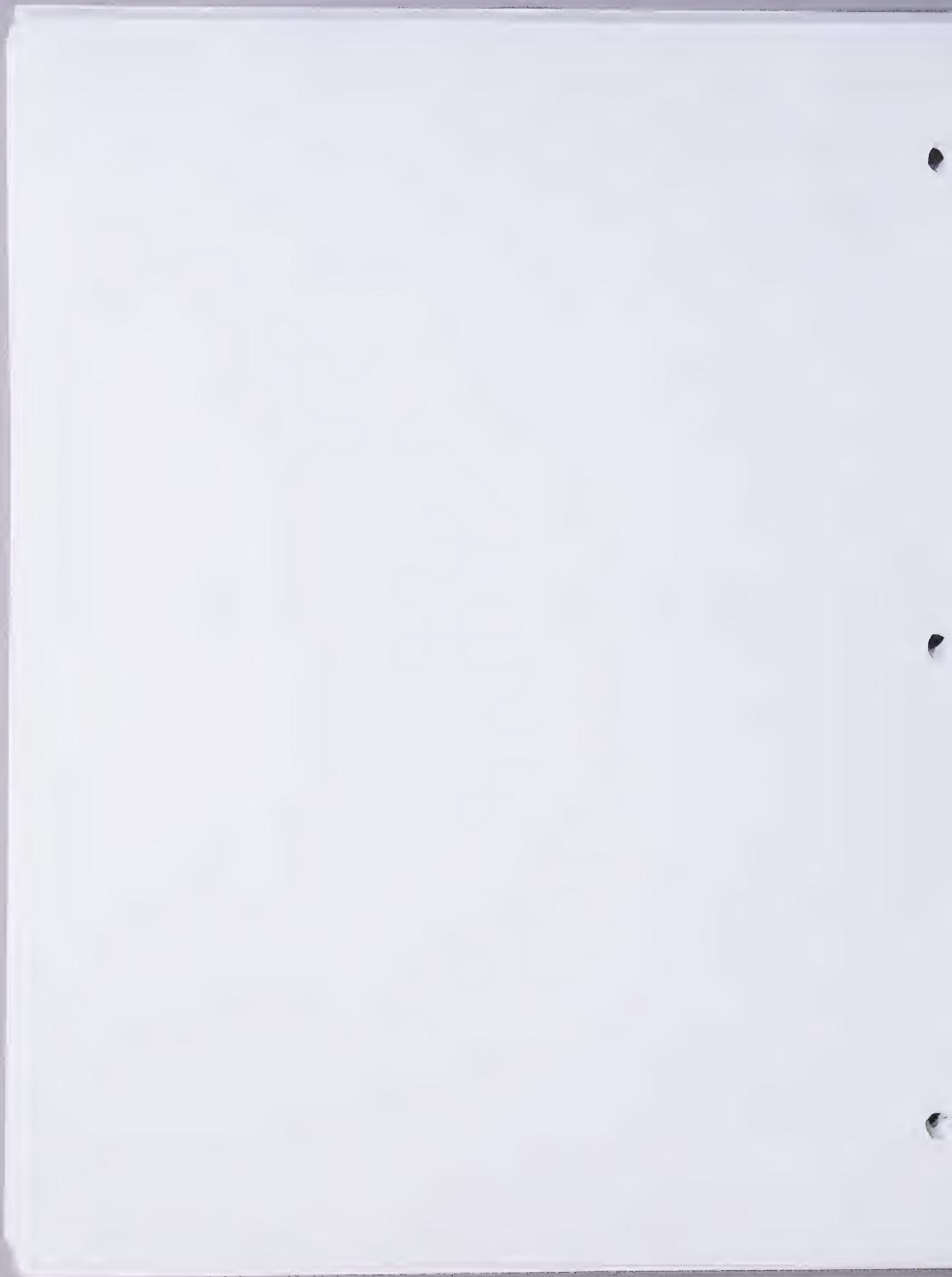
Por esso los plantas vos
sobre el mismo Dios plantais,
y es que en tierra quedais
tan cabeza como Dios.

[p. 5] 1. Favor, socorro cielos,
que Pedro se retira
de hallar llena la gracia
en sola vna vacia.

Segundo VILLANCICO

Estrivillo

1. PRendan, prendan à Pedro,
recojase la turba.



2. Carguenlo de prisiones,
y miren no se huya,
que ablandará los grillos,
si los grillos lo escuchan.

1. Que rompe las prisiones,
fuga, fuga.

2. Diligencias no valen,
pues providencia suma
de vn Paraninfo hermoso,
de carcello asegura.

Coplas

No importa lo pesado
de la cadena dura,
que en los riesgos à veces
las dichas se aseguran.

Miranos en prisiones,
no llameis desventura,
que siempre los trabajos
son, los que mas alumbran.

Quantos se corrigi[e]ron
hallando en su fortuna,
vn vivo desengaño
de esperanças caducas.

Sino os hallareis libre
la noche de la lucha,
vos dierais la respuesta
conforme la pregunta.

Ademas que no importan
diabolicas industrias,
si luego el cielo ofrece
Angelicas solturas.

1. Prendan, prendan à Pedro,
recojase la turba, & c.

Tercero VILLANCICO

Estrivillo.

1. QVe Pedro entra en el Te[m]plo.

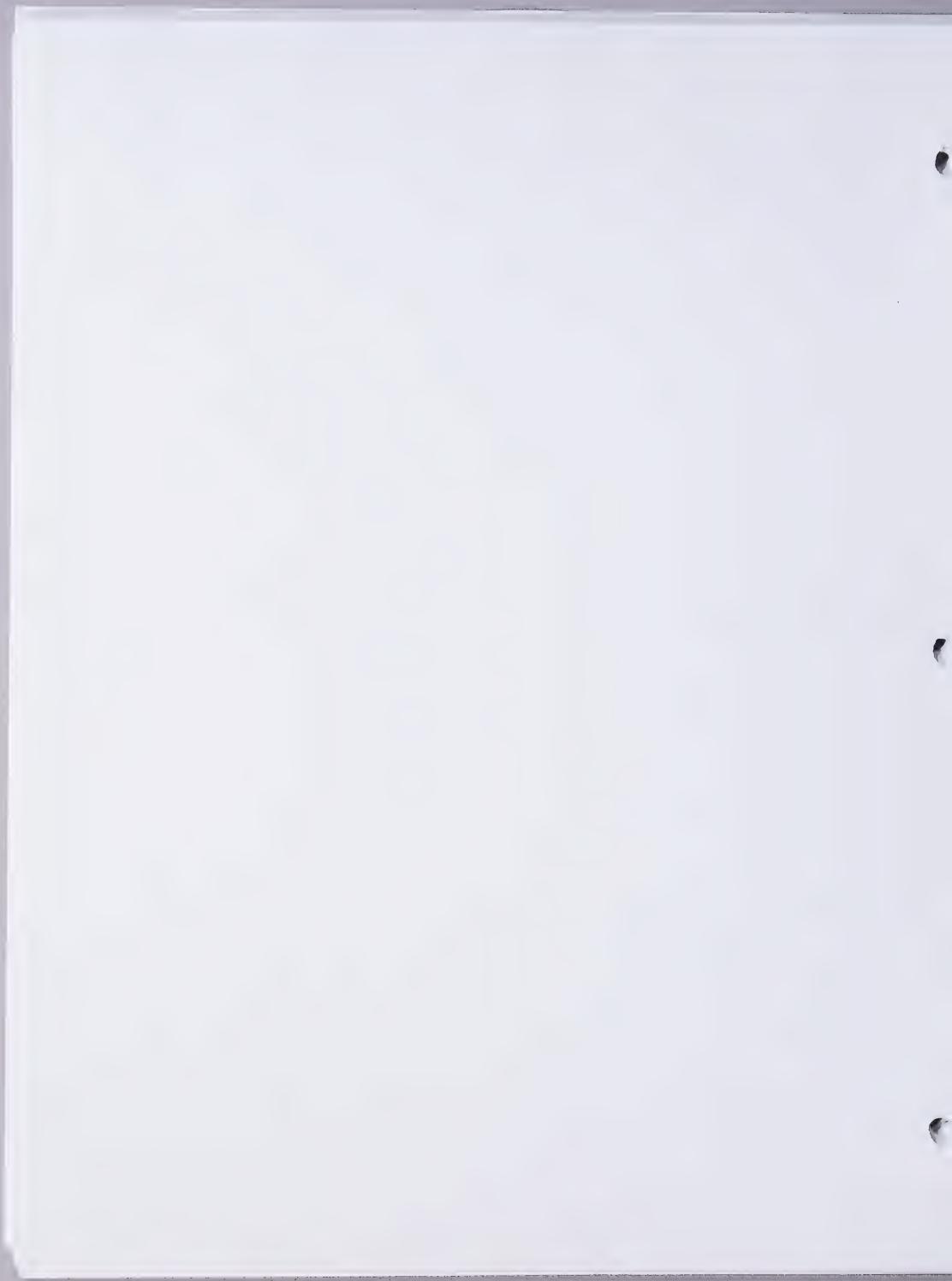
2. Al favor, al socorro.

1. Apartense los males,
lleguen los alboraços.

2. Que para las saludes
es hombre milagroso.

Coplas.

De milagros, Pedro, abismo
retrato de Christo es,
pues à los cojos da pies.



aunque glose el Judaismo.
En Pedro, y su sombra hallavan
los impedidos salud,
y de ver esta virtud
los enfermos se asombravan.
Los embidiosos corridos
era todo su sentir,
el no poderle impedir,
el que sanase impedidos.
Bien sus perfidos arrojos
castigaba, Pedro, pues,
dandole à los cojos pies,
y a ellos los dejava cojos.
[P. 6] 1. Que Pedro entra en el Templo.
2. Al favor, al socorro, & c.

Tercero Noct.

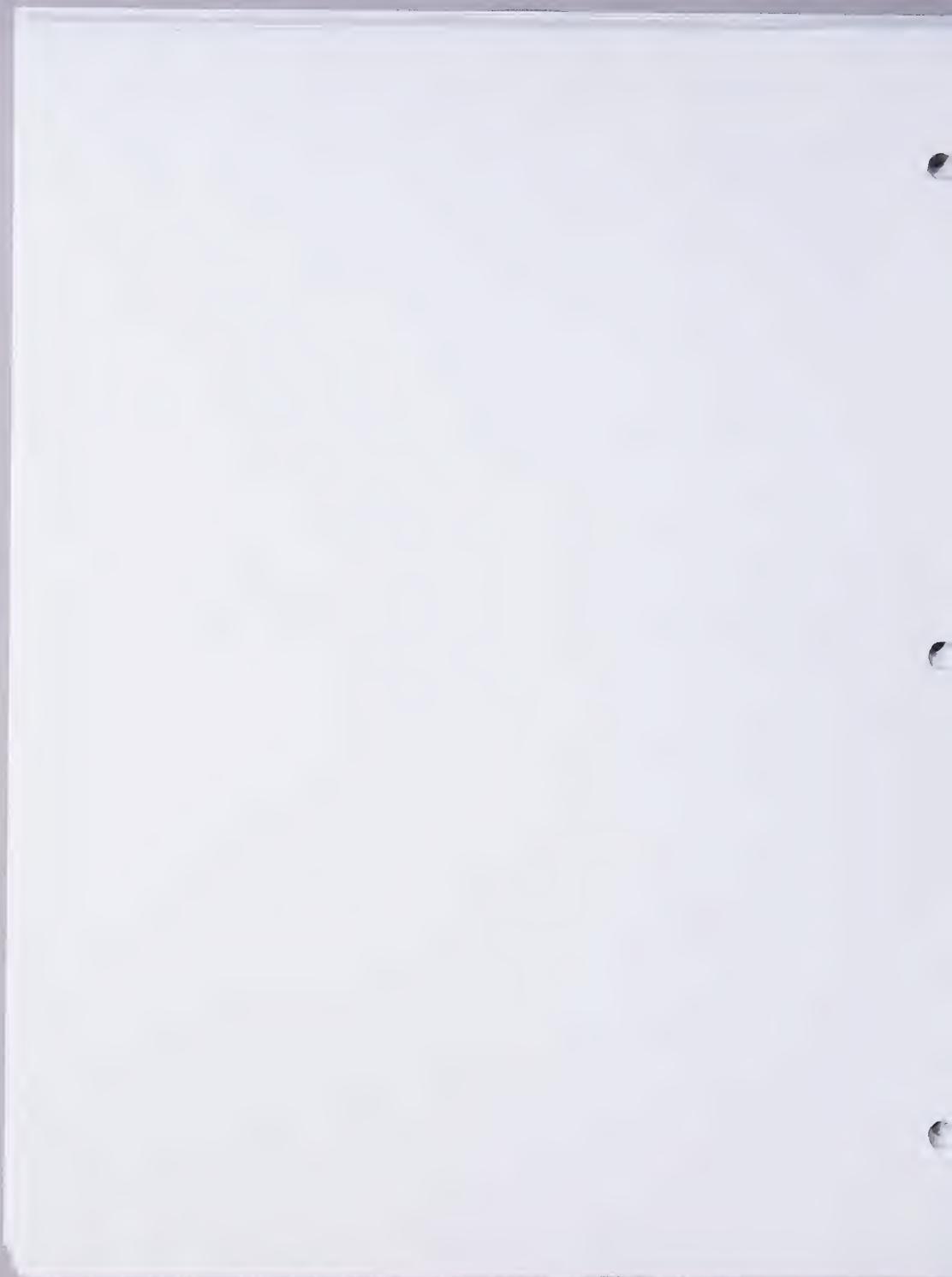
Primero VILLANCICO.

Estrivillo.

1. BArqueros à la pesca.
2. Llegad à las orillas.
1. Prevenganse las redes,
pues la ocasion combida,
en la pesca el acerto,
con apacibles brisas.

Coplas.

Pedro à la orilla del mar
tiende la red, no la caña,
que es cierto, que quiere maña
esto de saber pescar.
Bien lo publica el desvelo
del Apostol prevenido,
que mas pezes han caydo
en la red, que en el anzuelo.
Quien tan Profetico fuera,
Pedro, que os Pronosticara?
que vn Gallo el yerro os cantara,
y que vn Pez tributo os diera?
Mas si tengo de decillo,
muestra el caso prodigioso,
que hasta el Pez si es codicioso
cae siempre como vn bobillo.
1. Barqueros à la pesca.
2. Llegad à las orillas.
1. Prevenganse las redes, & c.



Segundo VILLANCICO.

XACARA. *Empeçando con Esdrujulos.*

EN la Xacara quiere mi Musa

políticas frazes hazer de su vena,
timida al empeño se halla,
minima à los mares se arriesga.

Oygannos explicar los alientos,

del Politico Pedro, y sus prendas,
Maximo por las llabes, que guarda,
Belico por los hechos, que intenta.

Del Magnifico Pedro me asombra

colerico impulso cortando vna oreja,
palido en oyendo preguntas
timido en llegando à respuestas.

Si benevolo quiso mostrarse

discipulo firme de la suma Alteza;
[p. 7] atomos de peligro no busque,
apices de despeño no vea.

En la Xacara quiere mi Musa
políticas frazes hazer de su vena,
timida al empeño se halla,
minima à los mares se arriesga.

Tabernaculos dar pretendia

glorificos cultos de su conveniencia,
solido repartiendo las glorias,
vnico quando llora las penas.

Si del zefiro herido se halla,

del cantico triste, que el Gallo le acuerda,
lo frigido elado, que en el pecho estaba,
calido efecto de su amor le encienda.

De los bartulos trueque las dichas,

si estatico en todo el llanto le dexa,
y los talamos, que antes gozava,
en tumulos tristes su sentir convierta.

En la Xacara quiere mi Musa
políticas frazes hazer de su vena,
timida al empeño se halla,
minima à los mares se arriesga.

Margenes sus mexillas produzgan,

cumulo haziendo de preciosas perlas,
prodigo satisfaga en suspiros,
liquido se deshaga en ternezas.

Parparos en el huerto cerrados

timidas publicaron sus fuerzas,
publico testimonio de años,
propheticoo aviso del daño, que espera.

Los Esdrujulos se han acavado,
Rethorica viva de Pedro en las señas,
meritos por su fee se le canten,
Victores por sus hechos merezca.
En la Xacara quiere mi Musa, & c.

Te Deum Laudamus.

[p. 8 serves as back cover and has only a woodcut ornamentation which fills the page.]

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